Dr. Gluckman pointed out to me that what has been taking place in the Bemba chiefly structure is a feature not only of Bemba history but also of many other African systems. This is a tendency to dichotomy and political struggle for the big posts between the various branches of the clan. The junior branches tend to drift and separate from the main branch and then they have to fight to get back to gain the main chieftainships. The struggles are related to the territorial divisions and the fights and intrigues between the powerful heads of such areas have, in practice, the effect of periodically re-uniting the nation. For, after each civil war, the big posts leading to the Paramountcy are again in a single branch of the family. The Paramount himself takes over the Lubemba area and the tribe is united again until a new drift away of junior branches to become territorial powers recommences. This is not the place for anthropological theorising so I refer these characteristics to the genealogical table.[1] We now have three branches of the clan. The second branch, that of the Mukukamfumu has steadily moved farther away from the Chandamukulu line, but it has succeeded in taking one big chieftainship the Nkula, and perhaps a second, the Chikwanda. Hence the tendency, mentioned by Dr. Richards, for certain chieftainships to become stabilised in definite families, is partially true. (*Op. cit.* (1), page 103.) Unless the junior branch fights, as the Mukukamfumu one is doing, it would eventually move still farther away from the senior branch and find itself left with just its present chieftainships and no hope of getting to the Paramountcy. Any third branch of the clan, as the present Mushimba branch, would also find itself drifting still farther into a little separate line of succession. This has happened to third lines in the earlier and present lineage. (See Section 3.)

In the past this drifting away of a junior branch has often been stopped by wars and fights in which the junior branch brought itself into the Paramountcy line again. The Chimbola incident is one I have described. But these wars cannot occur in the future and the Bemba chiefly system is at a delicate stage. The old councillor who said that this would have been a fighting period was right. The Mukukamfumu branch has been satisfied, more or less, with the Nkula chieftainship since 1924 and the Chandamukulu branch still to-day says it is willing for the Mukukamfumu branch to follow on after it even to the Paramountcy. There is not much hope of this as I show later. The fact that there are two queen mothers with hereditary names is still a guiding line to succession and I am inclined to think that no son of a Chandamukulu or a Mukukamfumu would be considered as being "too far away" to come into the direct line—at the moment. The Chandamukulu succession must keep switching back to the extreme left, but, if the Chandamukulu has many sisters, daughters, and nieces, as in the present lines D and E, the Mukukamfumu must be pushed farther away to the right. And so her sons will be farther away from the Paramountcy. In time even a descendant of a Mukukamfumu would be "too far away."

That explanation is of future complications and most of us can see the difficulties in allowing the line to go on indefinitely to the right. To deal with present day succession. Is one stop at least to be made after Chikwanda D15, the last son of a Mukukamfumu?

I will continue to refer to Mushimba C11 as the third sister because, as I have explained, her name has now been made into an hereditary one and I have classed, for convenience and because C4's family is at a dead end, the offspring of the two Chandamukulus C4 and C5 as one family. [51]

[1] [see cat. 86, pp. 44-58 — Analysis]

not because he happens to be one of a series of names. That is strictly speaking, but as I describe elsewhere the dichotomy of the branches and political considerations have kept the Nkula in one branch for two generations now.

This brings me to another interesting point connected with the break in the series of names. There was a chance that the series might have been Chitimukulu, Mwamba, Nkula in a direct unbroken line. Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5 stated his intention of claiming the Nkula on the death of Bwalya Nkula IV D12. He contended, and quite rightly, that he was senior to Musungu Chikwanda D14 and could claim it. If he had succeeded we should have had the new series mentioned. A glance at line C2 and C3 shows that an Nkula had been immediately after a Mwamba in the table in the past too.

The fact that Mbonkali D5 did not get the Nkula was due to the same reason that Chikwanda III C6 was not followed by D1, 2, 3 or 4. That there was the desire to give the branch of Mukukamfumu one or more of the higher posts. That was the reason openly given in 1934 when Bwalya Nkula IV D12 died. Such a reason emphasises the dichotomy of families, and Dr. Richards' statement that certain chieftainships are being stabilised in certain branches of the family may be true in a limited way such as this. But it is a dangerous argument for the present junior branches to press because if carried to logical conclusions it would freeze such chieftainships as the Nkula and Shimumbi in their own lines and tend to imply that they could not leave them to pass to the Mwamba. The tendency to split as regards the Nkula branch only started one generation back in line C in the present lineage, and some of the arguments given in the last subsection against the promotion of the third branch of the family could equally well apply for the restricting of the second branch to its own line. However that is a matter that is the future concern of the Superior Native Authority and Government.

Nkula D14 would take the post of Mwamba because the salary is bigger and perhaps because the status is higher too. Nkula V D14 makes a great show at the moment of not waiting for intervening deaths but of claiming the Paramountcy direct after Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1. But, as a glance at the genealogical table proves, all he has the right to do is to follow after the present Mpepo D10 to whatever post that chief attains. Nkula's mother C8 was junior to the mother of Nkolemfumu D6 and Mpepo D10, so that Nkula D14 is junior to them in the right of succession.

(d) Conclusion.

There are one or two interesting explanations necessary to complete this description of the line to the Paramountcy.

The status of the three or four leading chiefs seems puzzling at times. The Mwamba has often fought against the Chitimukulu. The Nkula has not, but perhaps only because the Nkula is a comparatively recent post and has not had the necessary time to build up power. There are several occasions on which Nkula might have fought had there been no European administration to restrain him.

Generally speaking, as Dr. Richards indicates, authority, power and prerogatives depend upon descent and kinship and all branches of the royal clan can claim connection with the original family of which a traditional Chitimukulu was head.